

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 3711

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, IAEA JA

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER ON NPT

REFS: A. STATE 062809 B. TOKYO 3697

SUMMARY: DURING MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR HODGSON MARCH 18,
FOREING MINISTER MIYAZAWA DESCRIBED CURRENT
NPT PROSPECTS; PROBABLE CLEARANCE BY LDP FOR INTRODUCTION
INTO DIET, BUT DOUBTFUL THAT RATIFICATION BILL WILL BE
ACTED UPON THIS SESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. DURINGAMBASSADOR HODGSON'S CALL MARCH 18 BEFORE
DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON, FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA
DESCRIBED THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY WITHIN LDP AND
PROSPECTS IN DIET OF NPT RATIFICATION BILL. HE SAID
GOJ IS MAKING ITS BEST EFFORT TO CONVINCE TREATY
OPPONENTS WITHIN LDP AND FEELS SOME HEADWAY HAS BEEN MADE.
HE ESTIMATED THAT IT WOULD TAKE A FEW MORE WEEKS BEFORE
THE PARTY COULD BE BROUGHT TO AGREE TO INTRODUCTION
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INTO THE DIET. THE DEBATE INVOLVES THE 20-YEAR

LIFESPAN OF THE TREATY AND THE FEELINGS OF THE OPPOSITION ARE DEEP-SEATED AND WILL NOT CHANGE EASILY. THE NUMBERS OF THE OPPONENTS ARE WILL NOT LARGE, HOWEVER, SO IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THEY CAN EVENTUALLY BE BROUGHT ALONG. MIYAZAWA SAID THE PARTY PROBABLY WILL AGREE TO INTRODUCE THE RATIFICATION BILL INTO THE DIET, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO FINAL DIET ACTION ON THE BILL THIS SESSION. THE DEBATE IS ALMOST TOTALLY WITHIN LDP; JSP IS DIVIDED, JCP HAS DECLARED AGAINST, AND NEITHER IS A FACTOR IN PRESENT DISCUSSIONS.

2. WITHIN LDP MIYASAWA SAID THERE ARE TWO PRINCIPAL ISSUES:

A. JAPANESE SECURITY: WITH THE SECURITY OF JAPAN WHOLLY RESTING ON BILATERAL MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY, NPT OPPONENTS ARE CRITICAL OF THE MIKI REGIME BECAUSE MIKI HIMSELF HAS AT VARIOUS TIMES IN HIS HISTORY BEEN LUKEWARM ABOUT MAINTAINING THE ESSENTIAL SECURITY TIES WITH THE U.S. OPPONENTS THEREFORE WANT CONFIRMATION THAT MIKI WILL SEEK TO STRENGTHEN THOSE TIES AND THE NATURE OF THE U.S. SECURITY GUARANTEE BEFORE THEY SUPPORT RATIFICATION OF THE NPT. THE GOJ'S QUANDRY NOW IS HOW TO REASSURE OPPONENTS, EITHER THROUGH BILATERAL ASSURANCES OR IN CONTEXT OF MULTILATERAL ENVIRONMENT AT MAY NPT REVCON. MIYAZAWA SAID GOJ MAY DECIDE THAT IT MUST MAKE A CASE FOR STRONGER SECURITY ASSURANCES AT REVCON.

B. INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED, WITHOUT ELABORATION, THAT JAPAN'S THREE NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES, PARTICULARLY THIRD ONE PROHIBITING INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ALSO CONSTITUTE ISSUE IN CURRENT NPT DEBATE. (DURING NPT DEBATE, SOME LDP MEMBERS HAVE ARGUED THAT U.S. MUST BE ABLE TO INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO JAPAN IN ORDER TO EFFECTIVELY DEFEND JAPAN AGAINST A NUCLEAR THREAT OR ATTACK.) HE EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO AGREE TO A CHANGE IN NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLES.

3. AMBASSADOR HODGSON COMPLEMENTED CURRENT GOJ EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF NPT RATIFICATION. HE SAID IT DID NOT APPEAR THAT U.S. NEEDED TO HELP, BUT GOJ'S GOING AHEAD WITH
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TREATY WILL ASSIST THE NONPROLIFERATION CONCEPT WORLDWIDE AND AS INFLUENTIAL VOICE, JAPAN'S ACTIONS MAY ASPIRE ADDITIONAL NATIONS TO ADHERE TO TREATY. HE NOTED THAT THE U.S. AS MANY TIMES REAFFIRMED ITS ACCEPTANCE OF OBLIGATION UNDER TO COME TO JAPAN'S DEFENSE AGAINST EXTERNAL ATTACK.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA SAID QUICKLY THAT THEY

DID NOT WANT THE U.S. TO SAY ANYTHING NOW: IT WOULD BE TAKEN AS PRESSURE ON GOJ AND SPARK ADVERSE REACTIONS IN CURRENT DEBATE. MIYAZAWA WENT ON TO SAY , HOWEVER THAT SOME KIND OF ASSURANCE MIGHT BE DESIRABLE WHEN PRIME MINISTER MIKI MEETS WITH PRESIDENT FORD, IF THAT EVENTUATES THIS SUMMER. HE INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME CONFIRMATION FROM THE U.S. SIDE IN ADVANCE THAT SUCH A SECURITY ASSURANCE WOULD BE POSSIBLE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT.

5. COMMENT: MIYAZAWA'S ALMOST CASUAL REFERENCE TO GOVERNMENTS IN CURRENT NPT DEBATE HAS ALSO BEEN FORESHADOWED IN PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE LDP AND SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS EMBOFFS HAVE HAD WITH CONSERVATIVE FIGURES DEALING WITH NPT. MIYAZAWA'S BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS WOULD FIT WITH THE EXPECTATION OF OTHERS THAT THE LDP MAY PERMIT RATIFICATION BILL TO GO TO THE DIET ON UNDERSTANDING THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT PRESS FOR RATIFICATION IN THIS SESSION OF THE DIET. IF, HOWEVER, SITUATION APPEARS RIPE, GOVERNMENT MAY CONTEMPLATE RATIFICATION ON PROMISE THAT GOJ WILL SEEK NECESSARY SECURITY ASSURANCES, EITHER BILATERALLY OR MULTILATERALLY, TO SATISFY LAST REMAINING MAJOR OBJECTION TO TREATY. WE ARE GETTING THE FEELING THAT GOJ "DEAL" WITH TREATY OPPOSITION HINGES MORE ON PROMISES TO TRY FOR SECURITY ASSURANCES RATHER THAN COMMITMENT TO OBTAIN THEM. WE WILL NEED TO FOLLOW THE INTERNAL LDP DEBATE CLOSELY TO ANTICIPATE ANY GOJ DECISION TO SEEK SECURITY ASSURANCES AT MAY NPT REVCON OR FROM U.S. IF DEBATE TURNS THAT WAY, MIYAZAWA AND MIKI VISITS TO WASHINGTON WOULD CERTAINLY PROVOCATE GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY FOR GOJ TO PRESS THIS ISSUE.

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